Who Gives The Negro Lessons in Violence? P. 2

Appeal to A Calloused Conscience

"They (the Americans) have resorted to extremely savage means of warfare: Toxic chemicals, napalm, etc. They have applied the 'burn all, kill all and destroy all' policy. . . . President Johnson: Reply publicly. . . . Who has sabotaged the Geneva agreements? . . . Have Vietnamese troops invaded the United States and massacred the Americans?"

—From Ho Chi Minh's appeal July 17, declaring his people will fight on even if their cities are destroyed.

I. F. Stone's Weekly

VOL. XIV, NO. 25 JULY 25, 1966 WASHINGTON, D. C. 15 CENTS

On the Question of War Crimes in Vietnam

Nothing could be more barbaric than the reactions in Washington to the possibility that U.S. aviators may be put on trial as war criminals in Hanoi. It will not add to our country's reputation when Senators as senior as Russell of Georgia threaten to "make a desert" of North Vietnam, and Senators as liberal as Aiken of Vermont speak of its "complete destruction." A nation that napalms villages in the South on the mere suspicion that they may harbor rebels and bombs the North without a declaration of war is hardly a model of adherence to international law. Something of the terror that Washington officialdom feels for Lyndon Johnson is unwittingly reflected in the appeals pouring out of the capital to Hanoi not to provoke him—we almost typed it Him—by trying the fliers.

Neo-Nazis Lecture Us On Ethics

When Senatorial "doves" (including some whose cooing has hitherto been barely audible) made their joint appeal in the Senate July 15 against trial of the fliers, Teddy Kennedy said Hanoi's plans showed an "absence of consideration for the innocent." Consideration for the innocent has hardly been a feature of our bombing policy. Our ethics are in disarray and we are being lectured on them from strange quarters. The favorite organ of Germany's unrepentant Nazis, *Die National Zeitung*, complained (Jan. 14) that while alleged German war criminals were still being persecuted "with a zeal worthy of a better cause" frightful war crimes were daily being committed with impunity on both sides in Vietnam. It illustrated this with an Associated Press photo of U.S. soldiers looking on while a South Vietnamese beat a fallen Viet Cong prisoner with rifle butt and boot. The mistreatment and torture of Viet Cong prisoners by South Vietnamese, and sometimes by our own men, has been an open scandal and a clear violation of that 1949 Geneva convention on the treatment of prisoners of war to which we are now appealing. *Die National Zeitung* did not mention that a principal purpose of the 1949 treaty was to prevent a repetition of the barbarity with which the Nazis treated Partisans and Resistance fighters in Europe, that it was written to extend to guerrillas protection hitherto accorded only to regular troops, and that we have sought to evade our obligations as a signatory by handing over the VC until quite recently to the South Vietnamese, though the treaty imposes a continuous responsibility on the capturing power to see that prisoners are not mistreated.

Voice of Reason In A Growing Storm

"Comparisons are always shaky for situations are never quite identical, but it is an established fact that the Algerian problem came nearer to a settlement when the French ceased to look for its solution in Cairo (by bombing Port Said or invading the Suez Canal Zone) or in Tunis (by strafing its border towns) and began to consider it as the specifically Algerian problem it was, no matter what its overtones of outside support were. . . . Even a total crushing of the Viet Cong and the wholesale destruction of North Vietnam are not very likely to change the basic vulnerabilities of South Vietnamese society."

—From the epilogue to Viet-Nam Witness by *Bernard B. Fall, a collection of his best articles on that tortured country since 1953.*

The VC have treated our men far better than we have treated theirs. Malcolm W. Browne, who won a Pulitzer Prize for his coverage of the Vietnamese war, wrote an article on the subject in *True* Magazine for July. He said "there have been few reports of VC torture of American prisoners." He reported little attempt at "brainwashing". He described "Camp Happiness", the model POW camp set up at Fort Benning, Georgia, where GIs are "put through indoctrination sessions, manhandled and even mildly tortured to give them a taste of what it will be like to fall into enemy hands." He adds, "Ironically 'Camp Happiness' has proved largely a mirage. Real captivity with the Viet Cong has been quite different . . . the Viet Cong have managed to make a favorable impression on almost all of its prisoners—an impression that worries U.S. officials."

At a hearing before the Senate subcommittee on refugees July 14, both the chairman, Teddy Kennedy, and Javits of New York, questioned Secretary Rusk about the treatment of VC prisoners. The Secretary said South Vietnam had taken "a basic policy decision . . . during the past year" to abide by the Geneva agreement. "We have an interest in it," the Secretary added, "because we expect reciprocity from the other side." It was only with the increase in the number of U.S. prisoners held by the other side that we began to obey the Convention. The change is more recent than the Secretary implied. "Just two weeks ago," Richard Dudman reported in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* July 16, "it became known that U.S. officials in Saigon had taken new steps to assure fair

(*Continued on Page Four*)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Real Agitators Are to Be Found in The Loftiest Places of Society

From Chicago to South West Africa, the Negro Gets Lessons in Violence

Terrible lessons in violence are being taught the Negro at home and abroad. An example at home is Chicago. After the National Guard put down Negro rioting there, ten portable swimming pools, costing $1,000 each, were rushed into the ghetto where the trouble started when a policeman turned off a hydrant being used by Negro children to cool off. Since the rioting, Mayor Daley has promised Martin Luther King to equip hydrants with spray nozzles for street showers. The Negro must feel that only riots get results.

Racial Chain Reaction

As we go to press, new Negro riots are reported from Cleveland, Jacksonville and New York City. Unfortunately only a chain reaction of such racial troubles is likely to impel Congress and the country to deal on an adequate scale with the twin problems of the urban slum and racism. Only major convulsions can change the easy habits of white supremacy and impel us to spend on the slums the huge sums we are accustomed to muster only for war.

Vice President Humphrey told a conference in New Orleans he would "lead a mighty good revolt himself" if he had to live in a ghetto where rats nibbled at his children's toes. Must we wait for the revolt before acting? How can Humphrey, so characteristically sympathetic, still support the war in Vietnam which drains off the energy, the funds and the social idealism necessary to prevent a catastrophe? The situation will tend to become more inflammatory as more Negroes begin to realize their disproportionate share in this war. A study by Charles C. Moskos, Jr., of the University of Michigan, which has just been published by the Center for Organization Studies at the University of Chicago, shows that because of his lower educational attainments the Negro gets shunted off in the armed forces, as in civilian life, into the ranks of the unskilled—the combat troops. The study shows that the percentage of Negroes in combat arms has risen from 12.1% in 1945 to 33.4% in 1962.

The Negro is enlisted abroad in a war of unlimited violence but asked to be non-violent at home. Yet he is made to feel that unless he becomes violent, very little is done to meet his grievances. It is not Stokeley Carmichael, it is Mayor Daley and President Johnson who by their actions indoctrinate the Negro in violence. Violence, too, is the terrible lesson taught in Africa by white leadership. After almost six years of deliberation, and by the device of giving the representative of lily-white Australia a double vote, the World Court has dismissed the South West Africa case on a technicality, without reaching the merits. We may be proud that the American judge, Philip C. Jessup, dissented and voted in favor of the appeal brought by Liberia and Ethiopia. But that flicker of pride will not change the outcome. Black Africa's last hope of achieving justice by law and in peace has been destroyed. The storm clouds of race war are gathering at home and abroad. May we yet find the wisdom and the statesmanship somehow to avoid it!

Dept. of Planned Prevarication

"With ample inventory stocks still on hand, our production of ammunition and air ordnance this month will exceed our consumption this month. Indeed, says Secretary McNamara, I believe that it may well prove desirable to reduce planned rates of production substantially . . . with maximum economy for our taxpayers . . . [and to] avoid the carryover that was represented by $12 billion of surplus and worthless material with which [sic] concluded the Korean war."

—LBJ exuding optimism, July 5 press conference

"The situation [the war squeeze on industry] is likely to get worse, even though Defense Chief McNamara has just announced he is trimming plans for production of bombs, rockets and other air ordnance, effective in 90 days. For this cutback is largely a paper one; actual production of these items will continue to rise sharply and by December the rate of output will be twice that of June. . . . Another hint of rising defense needs: The steel 'set-aside' for the fourth quarter, requiring producers to have a stipulated amount for defense orders, is up 30% from the third quarter." *—Wall Street Journal, July 13.*

How to Sabotage A Peace Mission and Use It As An Excuse to Widen A War

On July 8 the Washington Post published a story by its diplomatic correspondent, Chalmers Roberts, quoting unnamed "high Administration officials" as saying that " a key element" in Johnson's decision to bomb the Hanoi-Haiphong oil installations was a conversation in Hanoi between Ho Chi Minh and "a foreign diplomat." Ho is supposed to have said that while North Vietnam was prepared to fight a long war it did not expect that would be necessary because the November elections would "shatter" Johnson's political base. "Officials will not disclose the source of the story," Roberts wrote pointedly, "but it may have been Canada's Chester Ronning who was in Hanoi from June 15 to 18."

It can be stated on indisputable authority that Chester Ronning neither saw Ho Chi Minh nor brought back any such message. On the contrary he was told by North Vietnamese that they were counting on their own efforts, not on peace sentiment in the U.S.

Ottawa and Washington have all along taken very different views of the Ronning mission. On June 22 Paul Martin, the Canadian External Affairs Minister, told the Canadian House of Commons Ronning had been "well received", that the details could not prudently be disclosed, that it was too early to assess the results and that Canada would persist "in the process of patient exploration." The same day the State Department dismissed the Ronning mission as unproductive. Yet David Kraslow of the Los Angeles Times reported from Ottawa June 26 that high Washington officials in the Canadian capital agreed that Ronning had opened "a unique and useful" channel to Hanoi and said "We want him to keep trying, to keep talking." Nevertheless, three days later, Hanoi and Haiphong were bombed.

When news of the bombings reached Ottawa, Prime Minister Pearson voiced his regret in the House of Commons and said it had always been Canada's position that a let-up in the bombings was a condition for progress toward peace talks. The story planted through Roberts July 8 is regarded in Canada as an effort to poison Ronning's relations with Hanoi and torpedo any new mission.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Why LBJ Opposes Fuller Supervision of Cloak-and-Dagger Operations

The Broader Issues Hidden Behind the Controversy Over CIA

Johnson has twice thrown his influence against any attempt to place the CIA under adequate Congressional surveillance. The first occasion was in 1956, when he was Majority Leader of the Senate. Mansfield with 34 co-sponsors put in a bill for a Joint Committee on Intelligence. John F. Kennedy voted for it but Johnson turned on so much pressure against it that ten co-sponsors switched, and the bill was finally defeated 27-59. Last week the vote was on a more moderate measure by Fulbright to add three members of Senate Foreign Relations to the 6-member joint sub-committee of Armed Services and Appropriations which at present oversees CIA operations. The White House threw its full weight against the proposal. It was defeated 61-to-28, with four other Senators paired or in favor.*

Keeping The Lid On

Johnson had both immediate and long-range motives for his opposition. The White House could hardly have relished the idea that Fulbright and his colleagues might have used such a joint committee to probe more deeply into the faulty intelligence which led to the Dominican intervention. There have been investigations of two previous failures of intelligence. One in 1951 looked into the CIA's failure to predict the Communist Chinese intervention in Korea; the second, ten years later, was assigned to study the Bay of Pigs. But both were made by special commissions appointed by the White House and their findings were kept secret. It would only take one or two independent-minded Senators on a joint committee to blow the lid wide-open on similar fiascoes in the future.

*** The Democrats were Burdick (N.D.), Church (Idaho), Fulbright (Ark), Gore (Tenn), Hart (Mich), Hartke (Ind), Kennedy (Mass), Kennedy (NY), McCarthy (Minn), McGovern (S.D.), Metcalf (Mont), Mondale (Minn), Monroney (Okla), Morse (Ore), Moss (Utah), Muskie (Maine), Pell (R.I.), Proxmire (Wis), Williams (N.J.), Yarborough (Tex), Young (Ohio). The Republicans were Aiken (Vt), Boggs (Del), Case (N.J.), Fong (Hawaii), Griffin (Mich), Javits (NY) and Williams (Del). Paired for the measure were Nelson (Wis) and Mansfield (Mont) and announced for it, Clark (Pa), and Gruening (Alaska) all four Democrats.**

Sober Reminder From Saigon

"U.S. ground operations in the south have yet to produce spectacular victories. They have neither destroyed large communist 'main force' units nor recaptured and held large areas controlled by the Viet Cong."

—Jack Steele from Saigon Wash. Daily News *July 18*

Longer range motives are as easily discernible. The CIA tends to be regarded as a personified monster, when it only implements broader national policy. The CIA and the Truman Doctrine were born as twins in 1947. The Doctrine announced our intention to play the role of world gendarme. As Truman worded it, the purpose was "to support free peoples who are resisting subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures." The CIA in its cloak-and-dagger activities was to become the undercover instrument of this Pax Americana. The real meaning of this announced purpose "to support free peoples" may be inferred from the fact that the CIA, as in Guatemala and Iran, has overthrown popular regimes unfavorable to U.S. business interests.

It is on this basic policy rather than its instrument that attention ought to be focussed. Yet we find a Senator like Gore of Tennessee, who voted for the Fulbright proposal, praising the CIA in his July 18 letter to his constituents for its "very successful operation in Guatemala and in Iran." How can Gore, a Populist in spirit, who criticizes big business at home, be so blind to its operations abroad?

No special access to secrets is required to understand the shortcomings of the CIA. It is heavily weighted by its purposes toward the Right. It provides secret troops with which to protect U.S. interests abroad against popular aspirations it is not equipped to understand. It is an instrument of interventionism, and Johnson is by nature an interventionist, a practitioner of what was known before the advent of Communism as "dollar diplomacy", and Big Stick foreign policy. If Communism were blasted off the face of the earth tomorrow, the CIA would go on operating. These larger issues may easily be forgotten by mechanical and melodramatic fixation on the CIA as if it were an independent phenomenon.

What's The Good of Congressional Watchdog Committees If Watchdogs Have No Teeth?

MR. EDWARDS (D., Calif.): "Mr. Speaker, I would like to comment on two stories which appeared in our morning newspapers. I refer to the statement by the Solicitor General that the Director of the FBI, Mr. Edgar Hoover, was responsible for the illegal bugging of a hotel room in the city of Washington, and the release by the State Department of an attempt by two Czechoslovak diplomats to plant a listening device in the State Department. Now it may be, Mr. Speaker, that the appearance of these two stories at the same time is totally coincidental. But I think it is more than passing strange that the two releases were so neatly timed. Indeed, I wonder whether the spy story would have appeared at this time if it had not been for the image-damaging aspects of the statement by the Solicitor General. It is common knowledge that Mr. Hoover is a master of the art of public relations. This is a valuable asset to any public figure. But I most seriously question the release of information, of potential consequence to our own intelligence and security operations for the purpose of "blanketing" a negative story about Mr. Hoover."

—In the House of Representatives, July 14.

This statement is of unusual interest for two reasons. One is that the speaker, Don Edwards, head of the ADA, is also a former FBI man. The other is that the FBI, unlike the CIA, is subject to annual scrutiny of its budget by Congress. The FBI Chief, with his principal assistants, is questioned each year by the Appropriations Committees and the transcript released to the public. Yet these committees have never used their power to investigate the illegal use of wiretapping or other bugging devices by the FBI. This is a reminder in the midst of the CIA debate that Congressional surveillance is no better than the men who do the job.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To Destroy North Vietnam's Dams Would Be Genocidal

(*Continued from Page One*)

treatment of captured enemy soldiers." He said they were being held in our custody until they could be delivered to new model South Vietnamese camps and that U.S. MP's would be stationed in the compounds "as an additional safeguard" against their mistreatment.

Nuremberg Still A Precedent

But the Geneva Convention, to which we are belatedly conforming, does not bar the trial of prisoners as war criminals. Senator Morse, after putting the text of the Convention into the *Congressional Record* July 18, told the Senate, "There is no language in the convention, in my judgment, that would justify any plan on the part of North Vietnam to try these American prisoners." The Geneva Convention does not repeal Nuremberg. Article 99 permits the trial of prisoners of war for acts forbidden by international law. The General Assembly of the United Nations unanimously approved the principles established by the Nuremberg trials. Article 85 of the Geneva Convention recognizes the right to try prisoners for offenses committed before their capture, specifying only that even if convicted they shall retain the benefits of the Convention. These privileges range from the right to receive mail to a right not to be employed in war plants. But North Vietnam, when it signed the Convention in 1957, joined the other Soviet powers in appending a reservation denying these privileges to persons convicted "in accordance with the principles of the Nuremberg trial, of war crimes or crimes against humanity."

Under the Geneva convention, accused prisoners are protected by certain safeguards designed to provide a fair trial. North Vietnam cannot properly deny them on the plea that this is an undeclared war since the Convention by its terms applies to any armed conflict. Under the principles established at Nuremberg, the plea that one was acting on the orders of a superior is not a defense but may be offered in mitigation of penalty. The North Vietnamese may put some fliers on trial, perhaps the one or two ready to make some kind of confession, and then hand out moderate sentences. *But they could use the verdict to condemn those who gave the orders.* President Johnson and Secretary McNamara might well find themselves condemned *in absentia* as war criminals. Article 10 of the Allied Control Council law applied at Nuremberg makes "wanton destruction of cities, towns or villages" a war crime. Those who bombed oil depots with minumum damage to civilians could put up a defense, but those who smashed North Vietnam's third largest city, Nam Dinh, would have a poor case.

Hanoi's threats of trial may be designed to give our leaders pause as they plan further escalation. Hanoi fears deaths by flood and famine if we smash the dams which protect the populous rice fields of its Red River valley. Destruction of dikes was one of the crimes for which Seyss-Inquart, head of the Nazi occupation in Holland, was sentenced to be hanged at Nuremberg. We want to call attention to an interview given Australian papers by our Ambassador, Edward Clark, a close friend of Johnson's, after he returned from a visit to the White House with the Australian Prime Minister. "We will get better attention by putting the pressure on them," Ambassador Clark said (*Sydney Morning Herald,* July 9). "There will be more to come. We will knock out oil dumps, electric grids, power lines, *dams and canals.*" The fliers who bomb these dams and the men who order that genocidal step-up in devastation will be guilty of crimes against humanity. The rest of the world will condemn them and us, whatever Hanoi may do. *Noon, July 20*

Ky Picked One Wise Adviser Anyway

Ky named an 80-person advisory council today to act as a sounding body on high policy. . . . All recent Vietnamese governments have had advisory bodies, with varying degrees of influence. None have had any real power. One, which existed in the fall of 1964, was called the High National Council. When its members tried to engage actively in governmental affairs, half its members were arrested in their homes and sent off to a remote military camp. . . . The duties of the new advisers have never been specified. "I think we will present our ideas on economics, social and cultural affairs," said one member. "And politics," said another. "No, not politics," said a third. "I don't think that would be wise."

—*Jack Foisie from Saigon in* Washington Post, *July 6*

On Vacation in August—Next Issue Dated Labor Day—Many Thanks to Our Good Readers

I. F. Stone's Weekly 5618 Nebraska Ave., N. W. Washington, D. C. 20015

Please renew (or enter) a sub for the enclosed $5:

Name .....

Street .....

City ..... **Zip**.....**State**.....

7/25/66

For the enclosed $5 send a gift sub to:

(To) Name .....

Street .....

City ..... **Zip**.....**State**.....

For $5.35 extra send I. F. Stone's *The Haunted Fifties*

Indicate if announcement wished ☐

I. F. Stone's Weekly
5618 Nebraska Ave., N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20015

Second class postage paid at Washington, D. C.

NEWSPAPER

I. F. Stone's Weekly. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Published every Monday except in August, the last week in December and the first week in January and Bi-Weekly during July at 5618 Nebraska Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C. An independent weekly published and edited by I. F. Stone; Circulation Manager, Esther M. Stone. Subscription: $5 in the U.S.; $6 in Canada; $10 elsewhere. Air Mail rates: $15 to Europe; $20 to Israel, Asia and Africa.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED